

STACKS STACKS

The AMERICAN TEACHER

DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

REFERENCE
DO NOT LOAN

The Schoolhouse

I am the schoolhouse—I am of many-storied stone, soaring above busy city thoroughfares, or I am a mere cluster of weatherbeaten boards in a wilderness that is trackless save for the path leading to my door. I am the guardian of the hopes of every generation, and I am true to my trust. In me all things are equal; in me are no distinctions among those who come to me except the paramount distinctions between those who are proud to serve and those who seek only to be served. It is my duty not alone to teach, but equally to learn; to keep perpetually a light upon my altars, kindling them forever afresh from the inextinguishable flame that burns in every young heart, the sacred fires of love of knowledge, and love of freedom, and love of country, for as I succeed, America succeeds. I am the true democracy. I am the schoolhouse.

—Anonymous.

Organ of the American Federation of Teachers

MARCH, 1931

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WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE

John Herman Randall, *Editor*

Horace Holley, *Managing Editor*

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The American Teacher

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MARCH, 1931

Two Dollars a Year

Overproduction or Underconsumption

By E. W. Mounce, Head of the Department of Commerce and Business Administration,
State Teachers College, Maryville, Missouri.

The fact that we are now going through a serious business depression which has resulted in much privation and suffering among our people, has led many to inquire into its causes. Many are asking why it is necessary in a land as wealthy as ours for millions of our people periodically to undergo such distress and suffering. Not only are they looking about for the causes but they are also seeking a remedy.

We are continuously hearing from the business leaders of our country that the fundamental cause of the present business depression is overproduction. Almost any article one reads relative to this question emphasizes this point. While the business men are doubtless sincere when they offer this as the prime cause for our present distress yet it seems rather inconsistent to say that the trouble arises from overproduction when millions of men, women, and children, are cold, hungry, even on the verge of starvation.

What they mean when they say that the trouble arises from overproduction is that too much is being produced to sell at a profit. And, of course, when that point is reached production must cease, liquidation is forced, and many business men are thrown into bankruptcy. And, if we are to take this narrow definition for the term overproduction the business leaders are correct, for, in that sense, there is overproduction. But, many of us feel that there is a broader definition for overproduction. From the standpoint of society there should not be overproduction until all of our people are sufficiently supplied with the necessities of life. In fact, I do not believe that we would ever reach the "saturation point" in this respect under a properly organized economic system. The only result of pushing this idea on and on would be to raise the standard of living of all of the people by each step that

we would take; and this should be our chief objective.

National Consumption

The real trouble is underconsumption and not overproduction. The reason why this so-called overproduction exists today is because the people do not have sufficient purchasing power with which to buy, therefore underconsumption results. Who are there among us right now who would not purchase more if they had more purchasing power? Lack of purchasing power is the answer.

Just as underconsumption flows from lack of purchasing power lack of purchasing power results from a poor distribution of wealth and income among our people. A better distributive system would put a greater purchasing power in the hands of our people, and greater purchasing power would make overproduction unheard of.

The national income in 1929 was \$90,000,000,000 and the national wealth must be close to \$350,000,000,000. In fact, our national income in 1929 was greater than the combined incomes of all the European countries put together. Yet our population is much less than that of Europe. One would think from these statistics, that there would be plenty for all; and there would be if our wealth and income were more equitably distributed. But that is the basic trouble.

Eighty-six per cent of the people of the United States received less than \$2,000. Ten per cent of our people received for their labor less than \$600. The richest 1% received 14% of the national income and the richest 20% received 47% of the national income. The poorest 2/3 of the people own little more than a few hundred dollars while the richest 2% own about 58% of the wealth of our country. These facts clearly

indicate an inequitable distribution of our national wealth and income and go far to explain the present suffering and privation among our people.

Scientific Distribution

While it is argued that a different distribution would tend to prevent our industrial expansion and therefore either curtail or prevent large-scale production, this would not necessarily follow. It is not necessary to large-scale production that the stock be owned by a relatively few people. If we had a better distributive system we could still have large-scale production with its many benefits, and the only difference would be that we would have many more stockholders. This would distribute the dividends among many more people. We could still have the same efficient management.

Since it is, therefore, desirable to raise the standard of living of all the people through a better distribution of income and of wealth, what can be done to bring this about? There is no one remedy that can be offered as a panacea. There are, however, many things, that may be done to help remedy the situation.

Tax Reforms

In the first place, much could be accomplished through tax reform. The government, national, state, and local, is one of the greatest re-distributors of wealth now known. This great power may be used for good. The government, by changing its tax bases, can shift the burden of taxation from the shoulders of the poor and those least able to bear it to the shoulders of the rich and those most able to carry it. After all, the only feasible way of taxing the people is upon their ability to pay. There are two yardsticks with which to measure a people's ability to pay. They are, first, the possession of wealth, and second, the receipt of income. From the beginning of the Republic the American people have been taxed according to the first yardstick. But this method has proved inequitable and unjust in its effect and has been abandoned in Europe for many years. We still hold on to it for the most part. Yet it often works gross injustice. For example, a farmer owns a farm valued in 1928 at \$10,000. Let us assume that we have a big crop year and that prices are high. Then the profits of the farmer are suf-

ficient so that his taxes at the end of the year are not unnecessarily burdensome. Now let us assume that in 1929 his farm is valued at the same rate, namely, \$10,000, and there is a crop failure. Obviously the farmer is in no position to pay his taxes. Yet under our present tax system he must pay as much as in 1928. The defect is clear. The trouble is that we have been using the wrong yardstick. Not the possession of wealth but the receipt of income should be the basis upon which taxes should be collected. We should have a high graduated income tax and completely exempt those with a small income. They could be reached by small indirect taxes. This would be desirable for everyone should make at least a small contribution to the revenue of the State.

In addition to the substitution of a graduated income tax for the property tax, much of the revenue, national, state, and local, should be raised through higher estate, inheritance, and succession taxes. While we are making some use of these forms of taxes, they could be used much more as revenue raisers.

By these reforms wealth and income would be somewhat relocated and much greater purchasing power would be distributed among the rank and file of the people. To save the farmer or small business man \$300 a year on his taxes gives him just that much more in purchasing power. This would tend to raise his standard of living and at the same time keep the wheels of industry turning as a result of his increased demand for manufactured products.

Employment Bureaus

A second suggestion is that much more should be done by the National Government, the states, and the cities in establishing employment bureaus. At the present time labor has to depend upon private employment agencies which exact a large fee or commission for each placement. More than that these private agencies often resort to fraudulent and unfair practices as a result of collusion with unscrupulous employers and personnel managers.

A better system of government employment agencies operating free of charge would place purchasing power in the hands of millions of our labor population, not only by saving exorbitant commissions, but also by eliminating loss

of time. If a laborer loses a day's work, he can never regain it; it is gone forever. Unemployment alone each year costs the laboring class literally billions in purchasing power.

Tariff

A third suggestion is to abandon our present protectionist policy and go on the basis of a tariff for revenue only. The protective tariff is economically unsound and is so considered by every reputable economist in the country. It is nothing more nor less than class legislation. It protects the class that needs no protection. Why should the rank and file of the people protect a class of millionaires? Furthermore, it makes the nation poorer that uses it. It relocates or redistributes wealth and income, and in doing so transfers both from the poor to the rich. The economists, almost to a man, opposed the present Hawley-Smoot Tariff law.

Imports are the real goal of international trade. A country's balance of payments must in the long run be in substantial equilibrium. Anything which reduces imports must eventually also reduce export. It is neither advantageous nor possible by means of a tariff to make imports decline relative to exports. What the tariff really does is to redirect capital from more profitable to less profitable fields of industry. In the absence of restrictive legislation, the nation's capital and labor are employed in those lines in which it has the greatest comparative advantage, and it is into these same lines that new capital and labor seeking employment will come. The protective tariff prevents this natural disposition, forces industry into less advantageous lines, and so causes a net economic loss. Neither does it give labor added employment nor protect the high "American standard of Labor." The protective tariff protects the wrong crowd and results in a lower standard of living for the rank and file of our people. The reduction of the tariff on a revenue basis would place purchasing power in the hands of the workers of America.

Markets are necessary for the products of our people. Therefore, our foreign policy should be such as to open up the channels of trade with foreign countries. Our foreign policy for the past few years has done little to advance us in this respect. We cannot antagonize other peoples and refuse to cooperate with them and then expect them to trade with us. The Hawley-Smoot

tariff law has already forced certain of our neighbors to retaliate. Along this line it would appear that our better interests would dictate that we join the World Court and the League of Nations. These would undoubtedly be great steps to world peace and friendship, and peace is conducive and necessary to prosperity.

Unemployment Insurance

Unemployment insurance would also mean much in removing the distress of many during these periods of depression. It would probably help us get over to the period of prosperity and shorten the period of depression. It would do this by placing fresh purchasing power in the hands of a class in dire need of it. Many countries of the world are making good use of it. In fact we are quite behind the other advanced countries of the world in this respect. According to the International Labor Office something like 47,500,000 persons are now covered by unemployment insurance.

Equitable Distribution of Wealth

Finally, the captains of industry must recognize the seriousness of the problem which results from an inequitable distribution of wealth and income and be more willing to share income with labor and the producers in the extractive industries. If they consistently refuse to do this the time will finally come when enough of our people will demand a shifting of the very economic foundations of our country, and revolution and chaos will result. It would seem that for their own protection and preservation they would be willing to allow more of the national wealth and income to go to others. We must either modify our present economic system or be forced to abandon it entirely. Fundamentally our present system of private ownership of wealth, private initiative, division of labor and co-operation, is right, but it needs modification. This modification must come, and the business leaders of the country must co-operate to bring it about.

The worker is constantly receiving less and less of his share of the manufactured product. In 1849 the worker received in wages 23.3 per cent of the value of the finished product, and 51.1 per cent of the value added to the raw material through his labor. In 1929 the wage earner received 16.5 per cent of the value of the finished product and but 36.2 per cent of the value added by labor.

—John P. Frey.

The A. F. of L. and Unemployment

Address Before Boston Convention, American Federation of Labor
Max Zaritsky, President, Cloth Hat and Cap Makers Union

I have listened very attentively to the recommendation of the committee, and particularly to the wise words from our president, Brother Green. While I was in perfect accord with the recommendation on the general subject of unemployment, I do wish to make some observations on the report of the committee dealing with the subject of unemployment insurance. I am too old in the movement to become enthusiastic over some nice spoken phrase. I am not ready to issue a proclamation or have the American Federation of Labor issue a proclamation for the social millennium tomorrow. I am conscious, however, of the fact that at the present moment while we are sitting in session grappling with the problems confronting us there are millions of hungry, starving men, women and children looking to us for a solution of their problems.

I am not ready to propose that we sell the independence, the boast of our working men and women, to some government agency, but I am ready to ask myself the question: Are we appeasing our conscience by criticizing our fellow workers in Great Britain and other civilian countries, pointing out the faults of their system and their lack of results in whatever they undertake to do? I am willing to agree that the unemployment system or the dole, if you wish to call it so, in Great Britain is not the best that we wish for ourselves; but if the worker in Great Britain who has to register for unemployment insurance is not an outstanding and self-respecting worker, what about the worker in America who is today the subject of a most miserable system of charity? What is a worker in America when he is starving and seeing his wife and children starving every minute of the day? Can he retain his manhood as an independent worker? Can he satisfy himself with the proverbial phrase of "Rugged individualism?" What happened to his rugged individualism? Depend upon the President of the United States to give him hope that tomorrow he will see the light of day and tomorrow he will have a full dinner pail?

We are proposing through our recommendation something for immediate relief, some more

conferences, headed, I presume, by the President of the United States, with the cooperation of the industrialists and perhaps a few bankers who want to be the owners of industry, in the word of Brother McSorley. They will have state conferences and municipal conferences and they will have resolutions praising the mayor of this city or town for employing a half dozen or perhaps a dozen workers for the construction of half a mile of road.

If we attack the problem of unemployment we must attack it at its source. Very wisely did the Executive Council say in its report the purpose of industry is profit, and that is the source of all our troubles, because industry is not based on the purpose of service but the purpose of it is profit; and when it comes to a division of the profits we are not there, we do not share in the profits. If it is true the bankers are the owners of industries we must remember that bankers have no souls. The tens of thousands of shareholders of the United States Steel Corporation and other corporations do not know and do not care to know of the plight of the workers in this country so long as they receive their dividends in good time—10 per cent or 8 per cent or 6 per cent or whatever the percentage may be. Are we to permit our workers to be subjects of charity? Are we to permit society ladies and society gentlemen to handle for us the problem of unemployment.

It is true we are not ready to present to the Congress of the United States and the forty-eight states of our country a bill for unemployment insurance and have it passed tomorrow, but because we cannot get it tomorrow is no reason why we should not demand the same thing today.

We have been grappling with the question of injunctions for years. We have not accomplished what we sought, but we are fighting with our backs to the wall, and no one finds fault with us for not securing what we stand for. We have been fighting for years and years against the curse of child labor in this country. Are we going to give up the fight because we cannot get it tomorrow? No, we are continuing our fight

and we are continuing it until we can achieve what we are seeking.

We adopted the recommendation of the committee yesterday to instruct the Executive Council of the Federation to take up for consideration the question of the five-hour day. Are we going to have a five-hour day tomorrow or next year? No, we are not, but we have made a declaration that American labor finds five hours a day sufficient to produce all the wants of the nation. We may see it five years or twenty-five years from today, but the American labor movement has made it known to the world what the American workman wants. He has made it known what he will fight for. And, likewise, if he cannot get the unemployment insurance tomorrow we must make our declaration and let the world know we want it. We want industry to assume its responsibilities. It has been said we should lay it at the door of industry. Well, we may do that and there it will lie for days and years and decades and perhaps the butler will come out and sweep it off. We must make our pronouncement that industry must assume its responsibility for the curse of unemployment. It is industry that drove millions of men and women and children out of work, and the independent American worker is dependent upon charity, upon the doles presented to him and handed to him by the wives of the gentlemen who are the captains and managers of industry.

I don't know which is preferable to the American worker—charity in America today or the dole system in Great Britain today. I am not so enthusiastic about the dole system of Great Britain, but it is the best they can offer. Surely the worker who is receiving something, whether from the state or the employer or his own organization, is better off and has an opportunity to retain his manhood more than when he is dependent upon charity. I don't know whether or not the American starving worker is better off than the dole worker in England or anywhere else.

I will just give you an example of what one union has done to solve temporarily the unemployment problem. That is the organization I have the honor to represent, the Cap Makers' Union. We adopted a principle and proclaimed it to the industry that industry must assume the responsibility for the unemployment of the

workers, and six years ago we made the employers contribute a certain percentage of the payroll out of their own pockets toward an unemployment fund. Today, when a cap maker is out of work, he receives unemployment insurance, not a dole, to the amount of \$13 a week from his own organization, but the contributions come from the employers direct.

I am sure if this small Cap Makers' Union has accomplished that there is no reason in the world why more powerful unions in this labor movement—and thank God, we have plenty of them—cannot adopt the same principle and not lay it at the door of industry, but make industry take it inside of the house, make industry pay for the unemployment situation.

And so, my friends, while I am in perfect accord with what our president has said, I realize the apprehension of having workers the subjects and the slaves of the state. I am one hundred per cent with him on that proposition, but there is no reason to assume that we must follow our European brothers in everything they do, in every detail of what they do. If we don't like their plan or their method we have the opportunity of applying our own methods, but we must strike at the basis of the thing, at the root of the trouble, and so long as industry is conducted for profit and not for service we shall continue to have the curse of unemployment with us.

This is not a temporary proposition. This is not the first time American industry has been hit hard by unemployment and every time it is worse.

I propose that we do not lay it at the door of industry, but make industry accept it. Industry alone is responsible for the curse of unemployment, and if in England the unemployed worker has to contribute one-third toward this fund, the American worker contributes one hundred per cent toward it. Today the burden of unemployment in America is entirely upon the shoulders of the unemployed workers, and in England only one-third of the burden is on them. I prefer that system to the system of irresponsible starvation of the unemployed workers in this country.

It is vain to be always looking forward toward the future and never acting toward it.

—J. F. Boyes.

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Editors:

FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON

LUCIE W. ALLEN

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"No More Excuses"

To be without organization means to be helpless

Unemployment such as exists throughout the length and breadth of the country, affecting thousands of teachers along with other workers, is the close companion of wage cuts.

The Minneapolis Labor Review tells of appallingly low wages; the Utah state wage collector says wages are as low as \$2 a day; metal polishers in the Thomas A. Edison Corporation have been cut 20 to 40 per cent, and so on. These few illustrations are given to show the general trend. Unemployment and wage cuts strike at the very foundations of society. Terror and despair are their close attendants.

Teachers are by no means immune from this threatened danger. As a group of earners their wages have never reached an adequate scale, and it has been only through the slow and sometimes discouraging processes of organization that the minimum wage has been raised from the disgraceful low levels of former years. From many places comes the news of threatened salary cuts for teachers, sometimes in insidious form as increase in size of classes, shortening of school term, lengthening of school day, etc., but, often in direct reduction of salary schedules.

We have not heard of threatened cuts where the teachers are well organized. Why it is possible to resist successfully attempts to lower the standards of teachers at one point, while in another city there is little that can be done to prevent this, can be well understood by those acquainted with the principles and practices of the labor movement. As separate units the teachers, like other wage earners, are unable to obtain either recognition of their requirements or consideration of their demands should they have the courage to present them. On the other hand, members of the A. F. T., with the sympathy and support of the membership of the American Federation of Labor behind them, find no trouble in getting a hearing of their case, and in the majority of instances are able to negotiate successfully with boards of education.

The status of the unorganized teachers is at best not an enviable one, but under present conditions it frequently becomes intolerable. Warnings have been sounded of what might be ex-

pected where organization is neglected and already many of these prophecies have been fulfilled.

These statements are based on facts that must be faced right here and now. Larger classes, longer day and lower wages are not a condition that can be faced sometime in the distant future, but they are an immediate danger menacing education right now in the year 1931. This does not mean that the organized teachers are going to lose the ground they have gained, but it will mean that teachers outside of the movement will find themselves weaponless as they see the conditions that they have enjoyed through no effort of their own slipping away from them. It will further mean that every local of the A. F. T. will need to draw its lines closer and to be on guard against any movement that tends to weaken organization or to destroy the foundations upon which it rests.

Can the teacher afford to surrender any part of a wage that has at no time been adequate? Can he afford to allow himself to drift back to conditions of former years? If not,—and there are no reasonable grounds for argument on these questions,—his one hope and salvation lies in organization, in active affiliation with the A. F. T.

Reasons for not joining with the American Federation of Teachers, there are not; let's have no more excuses for failing to bear a share of the burden and doing a full part in protecting the teachers, the children, the schools and society against this threatened exploitation. As John Dewey predicted, the time has come when teachers need no longer explain why they are members of the Teachers Union, but must explain why they are *not* affiliated with this group of their fellow workers organized for their own protection, for educational progress and, the furtherance of social justice. As Congressman Richard J. Welch says, "Workers who are not members of unions of their craft are traitors to their own best interest."

Teacher Tenure in Pennsylvania

Tenure for teachers, or security of position for competent teachers, is battling for life in Pennsylvania. Two years ago the state legislature added to the school code what was known

as the "continuous contract law." This law was endorsed by the Pennsylvania Teachers Association and other so-called teachers' organizations which are in reality groups managed and controlled by administrators. This provision reads:

And it is further agreed by the parties hereto that this contract shall continue in force year after year, with the right of the Board of Education, or the Board of School Directors to increase the compensation over the compensation herein stated, from time to time as may be provided under the provisions and proper operation of the established salary schedule, if any, for the school district, or to change said salary subject to the provisions of law without invalidating any other provision of this contract, unless terminated by the teacher at the close of the school term by written resignation presented on or before the close of said school term, or by the Board of School Directors by official written notice presented to the teacher on or before the close of the school term.

And when the close of the school term came, boards of school directors presented notices, to every teacher in the district with the explanation that they would re-engage later those they desired and with whatever compensation they (the directors) could arrange. The teachers found that instead of having more protection they had less, and that the old system of hiring and firing for any cause or no cause went merrily on.

Now as it happened, seven groups of teachers in Luzerne County had organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers. They heard of the tenure principles of this organization and they said, "That's good, that is what we want."

Governor Pinchot was a candidate in the primaries for the Republican nomination for governor. These teachers went to him and explained what they wanted. They showed him that here was a group of teachers who knew what they wanted. After careful consideration of their program, Governor Pinchot made "security of position for competent teachers" part of his primary platform. He repeated it as part of his pre-election platform and again he *announced it in his inaugural address as part of his administration program.*

This is history in the making, for never before has a governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania taken such a stand for the protection of the teachers and the raising of educational standards.

These new union teachers went to the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor which for the first time adopted this principle of tenure for teachers based on efficiency. The Federation and Labor Legislative Board are backing the tenure bill with all possible energy.

This bill for tenure for teachers as presented by the Pennsylvania Locals to the Pennsylvania state legislature embodies the following principles:

1. To apply to "classroom teachers, supervisors, supervising principals and principals employed by them", in the public schools of Pennsylvania of school districts of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th class.
2. All teachers to be under this law must be properly certificated by the Pennsylvania Department of Education.
3. Law to apply to all teachers after 2 years of proved efficiency (when permanent license is issued).
4. Removal only for definite stated justified cause after investigation and trial.
 - a. Dismissal only for inefficiency or moral turpitude.
 - b. Charges preferred in writing.
 - c. Hearing public if desired by teacher.
 - d. Representation by counsel.
 - e. Appeal board to consist of representatives of school board and of teachers in equal number (2) and a non-interested member chosen by them.
 - f. Right of appeal to State Superintendent of Education and to the courts.
5. If decision favorable to teacher, salary for entire period shall be paid with restoration to position with full retirement and promotion rights.

Now it remains to be seen whether union teachers organized for one year with the backing of Organized Labor and the Governor can bring to pass this great advance in professional status through the enactment into law of their bill.

What can you do to help?

"Arms and the Boy"

It is under this title that a strongly phrased leader appeared in a recent issue of the *Manchester Guardian*, and in the same issue was also printed the manifesto against conscription and the military training of youth published by the National Council for Prevention of War. The manifesto, after recalling that the Governments of the world had repudiated war as an instrument of national policy, urges that every true

lover of peace should demand the abolition of military training of youths, and asserts that "the older generation commits a grave crime against the younger generation when in schools, universities, official and private organizations, it educates youth, often under the pretext of physical training, in the science of war."—*The Schoolmaster and Woman Teacher's Chronicle, England*.

The World Court

Special attention should be given at this time by all organized groups to the subject of the World Court. A petition reading as follows is undoubtedly in your hands:

"We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, believe that, without blocking urgent domestic matters the Senate can and should approve the World Court treaties.

"We believe that the World Court treaties should not be delayed until December, 1931, when the question might be mixed up with the next political campaign and so delayed still longer.

"We believe that the World Court treaties should be acted upon this winter or spring.

"We urge the President and our Senators to act along these lines."

It is expected that every local chapter of the American Federation of Teachers will secure as many signatures as possible and will forward the signed petitions to their two Senators promptly.

On January 12 a monster petition to this effect, signed by 7,600 persons, was sent to the Senate by the National World Court Committee. This Committee worked intensively and rapidly after the action of the Foreign Relations Committee in December when it voted to postpone action on the World Court until December, 1931. The National World Court Committee and the Women's World Court Committee, feeling that such postponement is really a movement looking toward eventual defeat of the measure, are making every effort to induce the Senate to reverse the recommendation of the Foreign Relations Committee, and to consider the protocols submitted by the President either during the present session of Congress or at a special session of the Senate alone.

Tell everyone you know that seven presidents have favored the World Court and ask them to go along with these and sign the petition.

The Ethics of Investments

Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam, President of De Pauw University, has raised the question of the right of a church to assume the usual absentee-owner attitude toward the social ethics of the business in whose security it invests. At a recent meeting of the national boards of the Methodist Episcopal Church he pointed out that by investment of funds in business enterprises the investor becomes a participant in the business. This enlightened social principle, as well as the types of investments he questions, reveals Dr. Oxnam to be a logical thinker of the highest ethical standards.

According to the Rev. Dr. W. B. Farmer, general secretary of the board of pensions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. Oxnam challenged the moral right of a church to invest its funds in a corporation "that will not deal with organized labor and insists upon 'yellow dog' contracts." He also declared that Christian institutions have no moral right to invest funds in public utility corporations that lobby for special privileges.

"Is it right," Dr. Oxnam is quoted as asking, "for the church to invest funds in a public utility corporation that treats its employees fairly, but which maintains lobbies at Washington and elsewhere, secures special privileges, spends money to discredit municipal enterprises, and goes as far as to subsidize professors and universities and thus produce propaganda from so-called reliable sources to discredit enterprises that make for community welfare?"

Dr. Farmer adds that the question of subscription to war bonds issued by governments was raised by Dr. Oxnam. "Does present day Christian conscience permit the church to invest in the highly profitable undertaking necessary to the prosecution of a successful war? Or for that matter, has the church a moral right to invest in the bonds issued by a government to meet the expenses of conducting a war, particularly when the church is a world church and has properties and members in the enemy country?"

The fact that churches are finding themselves confronted with a serious dilemma as they search for businesses in which they may ethically invest their endowment and pension funds is a terrific arraignment of present day business.

But the fact that church leaders realize that there is a moral problem and are facing it without fear or quibbling is a sign of hope.

Dr. Oxnam's pronouncements on this subject, combined with his magnificent protest against compulsory military training in a Christian college, reveal him as a fellow worker whom the American Federation of Teachers delights to honor. He is indeed the type of educator whom we rejoice to see at the head of our colleges with their vast potential power to influence social standards.

Teachers Organize

South Carolina Education, a magazine published monthly by the South Carolina Teachers Association, has an article on "The Reorientation of Education," by Arthur W. Calhoun, Professor of History, Limestone College, member of Local 208, A. F. of T.

Its concluding paragraph, especially the concluding sentence, needs to be blazoned abroad where it may be read by every teacher and awaken him to a sense of his responsibility to his calling.

The essential redirection, then, of our educational program will base itself less on individual psychology and more on group psychology. It will concern itself less with the climber and more with the comrade. It will put less stress on intellectual brilliance and more on social aptitudes. Above all, it will refuse to take for granted a state of affairs in which the vast majority of people, even in the United States, have far less than enough for a wholesome, and tranquil, and cultured life. On the contrary, it will stress mass organization for the achievement of common goals, and as a sound object lesson it will begin with the organization of teachers in such wise that they will not stand alone, in individual helplessness as virtual menials in the community, without tenure and without esteem, but will stand together as banded comrades for the achievement of professional prestige, collective advancement and joint leadership along the whole front of social progress.

CO-OPERATION

You have a dollar. I have a dollar. We swap. Now you have my dollar—I have your dollar. We are no better off.

You have an idea, I have an idea. We swap. Now you have two ideas and I have two ideas—both are richer.

What you gave you have; what I got you did not lose.

This is co-operation.—Points.

Freedom of Contract in Seattle

The "yellow dog" provision in the contract for Seattle teachers has been removed by the Seattle Board of Education.

In October, 1927, a group of Seattle high school teachers affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers as Local 200. During the year they devoted themselves mainly to building their organization and getting its machinery to working. The Union took no very active part in a salary campaign or in appealing for better teaching conditions.

However the position of the American Federation of Teachers on these matters, on the democratizing of the schools through teacher participation and on the professionalizing of teaching by security of position based on efficiency was well known and a campaign to bring about these reforms was anticipated.

Equally well known was the position and activity of the American Federation of Teachers on propaganda in the schools and when the Power Trust Propaganda scandal broke involving the Seattle schools and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, it was at once realized that the Seattle Teachers Union would take an aggressive part. That day the "yellow dog" was born.

The clause requiring teachers to agree not to join the American Federation of Teachers during their term of employment was put into the contracts in May, 1928. The teachers immediately applied for an injunction which was granted but upon hearing was vacated.

The Teachers' Union brought suit in the courts to test the right of the school board to refuse employment. When the Superior Court of King County dismissed the action, it was appealed to the State Supreme Court, where the decision of the lower court was affirmed.

This court, however, was not unanimous in its decision, Judge Beals rendering a dissenting opinion. Judge Beals concludes in these words:

"It seems to me clear that, under that statute and the law applicable, it must at least be held that that portion of the resolution here complained of, by which the teacher signing the same agrees not to join the federation during the term of the contract, is *ultra vires* the power of respondents as school directors. It may, of course, be urged that, if *ultra vires*, respondents

could not lawfully enforce the same, and that failure to observe this portion of the resolution would constitute no ground for the discharge of the teacher. Whether this be true or not, I am not disposed to hold that qualified and capable teachers, as a condition precedent to employment, may be required to sign such a stipulation which it is beyond the power of the school directors to enforce by discharge, if violated by the teacher. The principle underlying the question is, it seems to me, of very great importance.

"After careful consideration of the questions here presented, I am of the opinion that, in adopting the resolution hereinabove set forth, respondents exceeded their lawful authority, and, whatever may be said as to their power to carry into actual practice the principle laid down by them in the resolution here complained of, respondents' action as taken should be restrained by the courts, and the judgment appealed from, which upheld a resolution at least in part without support in law should be reversed. I accordingly dissent from the conclusion reached by the majority."

(Copies of this decision may be obtained at the office of the American Federation of Teachers.)

The American Federation of Teachers was planning a further appeal to the United States Supreme Court when the school board abrogated the objectionable clause.

A group of Seattle teachers not affected by the Board ruling continued to keep the Union alive and active. W. B. Satterthwaite, who had refused to sign the contract and was therefore out of the public high schools of Seattle, became president and the leader in the next move which was an appeal at the bar of public opinion. While its case was pending in the courts, the Union participated actively in the annual school board elections. In 1929 it supported two candidates who were elected, one of whom, John B. Shorett, is now president of the Board. In 1930 its candidates were defeated by a very small margin.

The Seattle teachers have put up the bravest fight for freedom of contract and the right to join the organization of their choice known in the history of education. They have fought not only for this constitutional right for teachers but for all men and they have won a great victory. It would seem that to have won public opinion, to have convinced by the force of their argument and rightness the very ones who imposed this indignity upon them is a greater victory than to have won their case in the courts or at the polls.

The future of the Teachers Union is in the lap of the gods, but judging by the character of the Seattle teachers there can be no risk in predicting brilliant years to come devoted to the highest ideals.

An excellent analysis of the yellow dog contract and the Seattle situation by Dr. Henry R. Linville is to be found in *The Nation* of February 11.

IN INTEREST OF FREEDOM OF THOUGHT

Washington.—A. F. of L. officials call attention of affiliates to Senate joint resolution No. 220, introduced by Mr. Glenn of Illinois, which is intended to provide a clear channel for labor's broadcasting station WCFL, Chicago.

A similar resolution, introduced in the House by Congressman Reid, was indorsed by the Boston A. F. of L. convention.

The Glenn-Reid proposal would amend the radio act of 1927 by providing that the Federal Radio commission shall assign three cleared channels to the Departments of Labor, Agriculture and Interior. These shall be licensed to radio stations recommended by the heads of the three government departments as being most representative of the nation's labor, agricultural and educational interests.

At the present time these important elements in society can only be heard on the air through the good will of private corporations. If this is unchallenged, private monopoly of the air will become a fact.

The Boston A. F. of L. convention made this reference to the power of radio:

"Radio takes its place alongside of the development of the printing press and the public school; it is the super-means of education, propaganda and entertainment. Whoever controls radio broadcasting in the years to come will control the nation. For good or ill, radio will pour into the homes of the land, into the minds and hearts of the people, a constant stream of song and story, of history, science, economics, politics and propaganda. Overshadowing and outstretching all other human means of communication, radio has become the unrivaled master of human destiny."

Trade unionists and sympathizers are urged; by the A. F. of L., to ask their Congressmen and Senators to favor the Glenn and Reid resolutions.

WHY I AM A MEMBER OF THE TEACHER'S UNION

E. E. SCHWARZTRAUER, Fellow in Economics, University of Wisconsin.

I believe that modern civilization must evolve a new social order if it would survive. Teachers must be foremost in that task. But they cannot be so if they lack courage and vision. Courage they can dare to exhibit if they unionize for they may then refuse to act the part of servile employees docilely taking orders as to what to think and teach. Vision they can then develop for they learn, through their affiliation and contact with other workers, what the vital problems of a living world are. The teachers' union makes possible many other more immediate advantages whose value I prize. But I pin my faith in the union's ultimate objective—a better world for our children.

EUGENE JACKSON, Teacher of Modern Languages, De Witt Clinton High School

Only through the Union can the teachers obtain a voice in matters concerning hours, working conditions, wages and the welfare of the pupils. Only through the Union can they obtain a position of respect in the community, instead of one where they are subject either to contempt or to hypocritical praise.

W. T. STONE, Teacher of English, De Witt Clinton High School

I am a member of the Teachers Union because it is really interested in education that stands for democracy in industry (in the broadest sense); its leadership is brave, disinterested, intelligent, idealistic and indefatigable; it approaches the problem of education from the angle of social progress; it stands for experimentation as against rule of thumb, traditionalism and narrow pedantry; it is free from cheap politics, self-aggrandizement and racial or religious prejudice.

HARRISON C. THOMAS, Head of Dept. of History, Richmond Hill H. S.

I am a member of the Teachers Union because it is the only organization in its field democratic and fearless. I believe that its affiliation with organized labor gives it a broader social viewpoint as well as added strength.

The Hudson Censorship Bill

By May Darling, Portland 111

"I do not believe there was ever a censorship established except to perpetuate a falsehood."—Everett Dean Martin.

Sponsors of the Grant-Hudson motion picture censorship bill are making a vigorous campaign to secure its adoption. Naturally, teachers are among the first to be approached by these well-meaning, but often misinformed, people. In some localities petitions requesting Congress to act favorably on the measure are being circulated in the schools, and in some cases teachers are signing these petitions without understanding the import of the bill.

The bill in question provides for national supervision and regulation of motion pictures. A board of censors, appointed by the president of the United States, is to have power to license pictures, all films to be prohibited from interstate and foreign commerce which do not conform to the standards set forth in the act.

Presumably, the chief object of the bill is to make motion pictures "clean"—to eliminate from them anything which borders on obscenity and to protect those with immature minds and bodies from influences which tend to overstimulate sex emotions. The provisions of the bill which deal with this phase of the subject bring up the whole question of the value and success of censorship as a means of protecting the morals of the community, a question too large to be discussed in this article. We should like, however, to call attention to the fact that obscenity is entirely a matter of attitudes of mind; that what may appear indecent to one person may seem only stupid to another, and that things which shock us today may pass entirely unnoticed tomorrow.

It should also be remembered that indecency thrives on censorship. Many a play of the legitimate stage would have ended in a dismal failure if police raids had not given it timely advertising; many a book would have remained in well deserved oblivion if the censor had not come to its rescue by putting it on his official black list.

Probably the sponsors of the Grant-Hudson bill believe that by means of a license system condemned pictures or scenarios can be effectively suppressed. Perhaps this can be done,

but suppose a film, or scenario, objected to by certain members of the board of censors did manage to get by the executioner. Once this fact became known, the popularity of the picture would be assured. Furthermore, the law provides for the right of appeal to the courts, a right which no fair minded person would take away. Imagine the glorious harvest for the producer of a picture of which the film or scenario had first been put under the ban of the censors and later given a clean bill of health by the courts!

Further, one should not forget that no art can thrive when cursed by censorship. Although motion pictures cannot yet lay claim to great achievements as works of art, yet now and then there appears a picture which indicates what may be done if censorship does not place its blighting hand on the infant art. "The bed of censorship is procrustean," writes Everett Dean Martin, "It always stands for the dilemmas of lower men."

However, the most dangerous parts of the bill, so the writer believes, are not those designed to protect the morals of the community, but rather those provisions which are intended to protect public officials and various groups of individuals. The bill provides that no license shall be granted to pictures—

"Of stories or scenes which ridicule or deprecate public officials, or officers of the law, or the United States army, or the United States navy, or other governmental authority, or which tend to weaken the authority of the law."

Since when did the government and the officials of this, the greatest of the world's democracies, become so sacred that one may not indulge in a few smiles at their expense? Mussolini could scarcely have done a better job. The next logical step in censorship would seem to be to exile to Russia all American cartoonists.

But the author of the bill did not stop here. To protect various and sundry groups from any possible injury through motion pictures, he adds the following provision:

"No license shall be granted to any motion picture which is harmful to the public or to any part thereof, in any respect, or which distorts representations of the national life, literature, manners and customs of this country or disturbs

public peace or impairs friendly relations with foreign nations."

To understand the significance of this part of the bill, one has only to recall the last ten pictures he may have seen. It is safe to say that at least nine of them could have been suppressed under a censorship law carrying the above provisions. Seldom does a picture appear which might not be interpreted as being harmful to some religious, racial, industrial or social group. Certainly any film portraying the evils of modern social and industrial life would easily go into the discard under a strict enforcement of such a law. To give nine persons the right to decide what is harmful to any or all groups of society is not only to imply that they possess practical omnipotence, but it is also giving them a dangerous weapon which can be used against any group

or class which may not agree with the political theories or social philosophy of the censors.

The proponents of motion picture censorship argue that the censorship board would be too wise and fair to suppress pictures of real merit and social value. But the history of censorship in general does not bear out this contention. Everett Dean Martin had the evidence of history behind him when he said:

"The censor is almost invariably a second-rate person whose chief qualification for office is absolute ignorance of the thing he censors . . . A first-rate mind would have nothing to do with the thing."

We could well offer up a prayer to be delivered from the inanities of the films, but deliverance can never come from censorship. Education alone can bring relief.

Toward the New World

Churchmen Survey World Conditions

The Cooperating Staff of the World Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church has addressed a message to their fellow churchmen whose enlightened grasp of world conditions has been equalled by few pronouncements of the year. So significant is this message that it should reach all thinking men and women. The AMERICAN TEACHER gladly contributes toward extending its influence.

"This is a day when nations are being reborn; when men are attempting achievements that stagger imagination.

"India, while rejecting the spiritually destructive method of violence, is moving out to take her place among the great nations. China, although beset with a thousand baffling problems, is showing a vigor and an expectation of her future which compels the attention of mankind. Russia, after centuries of suffering beneath a capricious despotism, is proclaiming herself a champion of the rights of those who toil. Turkey, another victim of ruthless government, is showing the Moslem world the way toward a new power and a new destiny.

"The black man, so long exploited, is no longer willing to be treated as a clod, but calls for his rights as a man. Races that have felt themselves the victims of the white man's energy and control of power are awakening to demand their just share of wealth and opportunity.

"The pioneers of science constantly push the areas of man's control over nature to wider boundaries; at the hazard of their lives, pioneers of medicine are reducing the terrors of disease; pioneers of social justice are setting new standards for the housing of the poor, for the equitable treatment of workers, for the elimination of those specters of sickness, old age and poverty that have haunted mankind's whole history.

"But while we thus greet with joy all signs of humanity's determination to push forward, there are other facts in modern life which presage future struggle. Little as we may enjoy the prospect, mankind must shortly reckon with them. Consider:

"The gathering wrath of millions at poverty, and their determination that the contrast between the ease of the possessing few and the bitterness of the needy many shall be wiped out.

"The growing resolve of the non-white races to bring their case against white world-domination to judgment.

"The mounting conviction that governments which are ready to sacrifice their people in war, or religions which are willing to bless them in their folly, are unworthy of the allegiance of rational men.

"The deepening resentment throughout the rest of the world against any nation or people who apparently intend to maintain themselves in luxury while others barely manage to exist."

EDGERTON AROUSES IRE OF CHURCHMEN

The ineptitude of the supposed big minds of business in the face of our present crisis has had no more striking revelation than in the attempt of John E. Edgerton, president of the National Association of Manufacturers to present the negative view on the question of unemployment insurance before a conference of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish Church leaders. The conference was called by the social agencies of the churches for the purpose of focusing the attention of the nation on plans for permanent preventives of unemployment. Mr. Edgerton aroused wrath, ridicule, and scorn when he advised these earnest thinkers to "retire to their closet every morning, kneel with the Bible in one hand and the Constitution in the other hand and then bravely face the future."

Indignation and contempt were poured out by practically every speaker who followed him on his position that if poverty were abolished there would be little need for the existence of churches. "What need, it may be asked, have people for God and the church when human government is undertaking to do everything for them that God and church promise?" Edgerton asked "If the government is to protect them against the consequences of economic misfortune, if it insists on playing Santa Claus to them in the days of their want, then why should they worship any other power than that of the government that coddles them?"

Rabbi Edward L. Israel of Baltimore was among those who replied to Edgerton.

"It is perhaps significant," Rabbi Israel said, "that the speaker who most frequently used the terms 'God' and 'religion' was distinctly the most anti-social person who came before us.

"This head of a great body of American manufacturers admitted that, with millions of his fellow human beings out of jobs, he had given no thought to unemployment insurance plans and calmly declared that there were worse things in life than being out of a job and hungry.

"He suggested that the life of the church depends on the people's need for charity. It is high time for religion to serve notice on this type of conscience, which sometimes dares to mouth sanctimonious words in its defense, that we are not organized, as churches, to cure by charity the ills of a faulty economic system.

"Rather, let us serve notice that no economic order which brings misery to millions can endure with our sanction and without our protest."

Dr. John R. Commons voiced the feeling that hundreds of thinkers must have as they search the expressions of these "captains of industry" for any concrete adequate plan for a way out of the present situation. Dr. Commons said:

"Business men and bankers have made an awful blunder in their management of the world's business during the past eighty years—the period during which they have substituted the corporation for the individual.

"They ask the rest of us to keep our hands off, for they alone are expert in managing business. But see what they bring us every few years."

THE WORKER'S SHARE

There is something fundamentally wrong when we are afflicted with periodical depressions. We have the power to produce as no other nation in the world, but hungry masses beg for the opportunity to buy and use the things that industry can produce,

Is not that a false economic condition? It is indefensible. We are responsible for it, because we have followed a false principle.

The solution of this problem is to balance production with consumption. The market is here and is never satisfied, continually crying for more. If the masses of the people have the power to buy, they can use and consume all the goods industry can produce.

Labor insists that workers' wages be continuously built up to the point where an equilibrium is maintained between production and market requirements. Give the people the opportunity to buy and use, and we will have no unemployment problem in America.

During the 10-year period between the close of the war and the present time the individual worker, through scientific application of economic and mechanical processes, increased his productive facilities more than 50 per cent. His wages—his purchasing power, his real wages—increased less than 10 per cent.

How can you keep up an increase of 50 per cent in production facilities and maintain employment while at the same time real wages are only increased 10 per cent?

Industrial management must understand that instead of issuing stock dividends, instead of giving bonuses of more than \$1,000,000 a year to chief executives, that money should be distributed in real wages.

—William Green.

WAGNER PREDICTS EARLY UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Sen. Wagner of New York, in an address before the Churches' Conference on Permanent Preventives of Unemployment, in Washington, Jan. 27, declared that "There is no doubt in my mind that sooner than most of us now anticipate we shall insure our workers against unemployment."

He had presented the moral argument against the chaos of unregulated competition in privately-managed industry, and had advocated long-time advance planning of public construction works to take up slack in employment, but had said that stabilization schemes were not enough. New inventions and foreign developments would continue to dislocate business. Hence there must be created a reserve to maintain the workers during these times of industrial dislocation.

"We shall learn to treat unemployment as a business risk," he said. "We shall realize that the idleness of men and women ready and willing to work is part of the general cost of running our high speed civilization; that it must not be an individual burden. Only when we shall have adopted this entire program of stabilization and insurance shall we be in a position to declare that we have substantially strengthened the sense of security of all our people."

Workers who have spent a life of devotion in certain industries are essential to those industries when industrial activity is resumed. Why should industry, under the circumstances, be in a position to say to the Red Cross or to public charity: "You take care of them until I need them again."

—Leiserson.

In the present depression stockholders have been receiving dividends out of money which had been earned before the depression set in. Why should not the same provision be made for labor?

—Leiserson.

No man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent.

—Abraham Lincoln

During 1930 the nation's wage bill fell \$9,600,000,000, a little more than 20 per cent.

Two lights are seen on the horizon—one the fast fading marsh light of power; and the other the slowly rising sun of human brotherhood.

—John P. Alleged.

GOMPERS MEMORIAL

Arrangements have been completed for the erection of a memorial to the late Samuel Gompers, who served so many years as President of the American Federation of Labor.

The model for the memorial submitted by Robert I. Aitken, the sculptor, has been approved by the Fine Arts Commission and the Samuel Gompers Memorial Committee, and the place where it is to be erected has been selected.

It will be in a triangle, a block from the American Federation of Labor Building. Just across the street there is another triangle in which a statue of that famous fighter for liberty, Robert Burke, will face that of Gompers. One of the most traveled streets in Washington passes between the two triangles.

Above the seated figure of Mr. Gompers is the altar of justice at which he persistently pleaded for justice to the wage earners during his long lifetime. To the right stands the figure of Liberty and behind her that of justice.

Across the altar of Justice two figures symbolic of labor are clasping hands with Justice. The mother holding her child to her breast symbolizes the protection of the home. The child at the right with head bowed illustrates the appeal being made for protection of children from industrial exploitation for which Mr. Gompers led the battle of labor.

Many artists have praised the model of the memorial which will forever stand to remind the people who are now living and those who will come hereafter of the work of Samuel Gompers in the interest of liberty, justice, the home and the children.

It will require between two and three years to complete the memorial.

The labor movement of the country has taken a deep interest in providing for the memorial.

That which constitutes the supreme worth of life is not wealth, nor position, nor ease, nor fame, not even happiness; but service. Nothing at last counts but service, and that counts always.

—Alfred W. Martin.

There is one kind of patriot who waves the flag, but a far higher kind is the man who blushes every time he sees a neglected child.

—Dr. Garnet Baker.

Y.W.C.A. Shows College Girls Six Weeks of Workers' Life

By Jessie Lloyd, Federated Press

In *The Question Mark*, just issued by the National Student Council of the Y. W. C. A., 16 college girls who spent six weeks working in industry last summer record their findings and wonderings. The jobs were not secured for them by the organization—they had to go through the experience of finding them themselves. Naturally their most vivid impressions are of the evil of unemployment. They reached no conclusions, the main effect of the six weeks being to "broaden our scope of vision."

The girls were deeply stirred by conditions they found. Lyndell Brumback, of the University of Nebraska, writes; "Unemployed! It is a word which, before this summer's experience, represented to me merely a category in which certain people were to be placed by virtue of the fact that they were not on any payroll.

"Now the word means tired and aching feet, worn shoes and hose—burned arms and back—carfare spent in vain—hunger, a feverish and futile tramping to and fro, rebuffs, insults, and the terrific physical and psychological depression which results from all of this.

"To hear the word now brings before me a picture of the little Polish girl I met one morning. . . . She told me how she had looked for work every morning for two months without success. . . . For two hours we went from factory to factory only to be turned away, until at last she left me to go with a man who offered her 'easy money'.

"Or again I see the worn face of a Negro woman who sat beside me one morning in a free employment bureau. She had married at 15, and at 23 she had been deserted and had two children to support. She had done the hardest kind of labor, even before the depression, but for months she had been able to get no work at all. Some days she had had no money for carfare and had been obliged to take a two hours' walk to the employment bureau and back again. Day after day she had sat waiting in the crowded little stall, leaving only at noontime to get a drink of water.

"We have felt particularly keenly the waste in effort, time and money which results from the absolute lack of organization in the labor market.

The amount of time and energy which could be saved by adequate and well administered employment bureaus would be worth much more than the expense of running them."

Wages ranged from \$2 for a 44-hour week sewing lampshades to \$17 for a 50-hour week packing marshmallows. One girl working all night every night as counter girl in a restaurant got \$16 and good meals, but it was a 70-hour week. Two other lampshade workers got \$3 and \$3.90.

Five girls got \$14-\$15 for cutting silk underwear, shaking linen in a laundry, stretching artificial sausage casings on a mandrel, examining in a mail order house, and packing marshmallows, with hours ranging from 44 to 50. \$5 and \$5.52 were the week's pay for beginners at hosiery repair and making paper boxes. The other wages ranged from \$8.40 to \$12.50 weekly for laundry, factory, millinery, orange juice stand, hotel chambermaid and bus girl. The needle trades had the best hours—44—and the restaurants the worst—60-70.

Eunice Spellman, of New York City, describes her minute polishing of 13 rooms and baths in a first class hotel 54 hours a week for from \$40 to \$50 a month and the doubtful privilege of meals at the hotel. "The meat was only fairly fresh the first two days," she writes, "it was towards the end of the week when the meat was on its fourth day and the soup thick enough to be cut that at least four girls got sick every week.

"One girl on our floor was assaulted by the house detective. Her complaint made to the housekeeper was met in a very matter of fact manner; as her hysterics mounted higher the housekeeper admitted she could do nothing about it as the detective stood before her in the organization and it would endanger her job to speak up."

Space forbids quotation from other heartfelt descriptions. In their group meetings the girls discussed every suggested remedy for joblessness from stabilization of employment to new systems of government, but they felt the problems so complex that they required further study and analysis. All agreed some action is vitally needed.

AN OPEN LETTER TO HON. PHILLIP F. LAFOLLETTE, GOVERNOR:

Dear Sir:

Feb. 4, 1931.

The University of Wisconsin Local of the American Federation of Teachers is deeply interested in your views on education as expressed in your budget message to the legislature. We heartily concur with your suggestion of the need for a fundamental appraisal of our educational system. We are dedicated to combat the "force of the institutional habit" which constantly hampers the necessary recasting of our educational principles and practices. Further, we endorse your view that the university will benefit by the elimination of the acquisitive teacher who is bent on securing for himself the largest possible salary regardless of services rendered. We have little doubt but that there are some of that kind among us.

On the other hand, we know that the educational system is constantly forced to fight the tendency, as presently exemplified in extreme form in Oklahoma, to reduce salaries and staff in order to keep down governmental expense. This begins with a desire to pay out taxpayers money only for value received, but it seldom ends there. Right now, the University of Wisconsin is faced on the one hand, with the loss of some of its best teachers, and on the other, with the inability to secure others of high grade. This is not an indication of acquisitiveness on the part of teachers but of the university's trying to trade on idealism and sacrifice instead of paying what a man is worth. We do not think that this measure of worth is to be judged by the standards of the business world, but certainly there should be taken into account the practices of other educational institutions in a similar position and offering similar advantages of security and opportunity for service as does the University of Wisconsin.

We feel that your views on this question of salaries and related topics were not at all clear to us in your budget message. Consequently, in behalf of our union we earnestly request you to clarify your position on this question which is as vital to the entire state as it is to the employees concerned.

American Federation of Teachers

University of Wisconsin Local 223.

E. E. Schwarztrauber, President.

FIGHT TO PROTECT SUMMER SCHOOL

Madison, Wis.—A protest against the discontinuance of the University of Wisconsin summer session for workers in industry has been registered by the Wisconsin Federation of Labor.

In line with the policy of cutting down on the nine million dollar university budget, it was at first suggested by reactionary university critics to delete the workers' summer session, a six week period during which 60 workers actually employed in industry, whose tuition, room and board are paid by scholarships, are taught economics, history and sociology by experienced labor instructors.

PROFESSORS MUST TELL WHO PAYS FOR SPEECH

The Association of American University Professors meeting in Cleveland recently adopted a resolution providing that any member of the association who testifies or speaks in public on behalf of any organization or individual paying him a retainer fee must make public the fact that he is being paid.

A committee of the association reported that public utility corporations are spreading propaganda through college and university professors, in some cases paying fees as high as \$10,000 a year to a desirable professor.

Hitherto, these payments have in many cases been kept secret, and the professor has spoken as an impartial observer. Now he must tell who pays him.

The practice was revealed by the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of Power Trust propaganda, and Judson King of the Popular Government League and others demanded that the professors "clean house."

THE BRITISH EDUCATION BILL

The House of Commons has passed the education bill which raises the age at which children can leave school from 14 to 15 years, and makes provision for assisting parents whose finances will not permit them to continue their children's education.

An amendment was introduced to meet the objection raised by church and other "non-provided" schools that they would not be able to finance the required expansion. The amendment was defeated, but the unamended bill was passed by a majority of 18. The bill now goes to the House of Lords.

THE LA GUARDIA AMENDMENT

Congressman La Guardia (Republican of New York) introduced an amendment to the military appropriation bill when it came into the House January 15 which provided that none of the funds appropriated by the act might be used for compulsory drill in civil colleges and schools.

The amendment developed most gratifying support. The debate was of the best quality one hears in the House.

Though voted down, 162 to 50, the opponents of compulsory drill came out of the contest with greatly increased hopes and with assurance that the vote by no means registered their full strength. It was a defeat that suggested victory.

Text of the La Guardia Amendment to the Army Bill for 1932

"PROVIDED FURTHER, That none of the funds appropriated in this act shall be used for or toward the support of any compulsory military course or military training in any civil school or college, or for the pay of any officer, enlisted man, or employee at any civic school or college where a military course or military training is compulsory, but nothing herein shall be construed as applying to essentially military schools or colleges."

In support of the Amendment, Mr. La Guardia argued, "The purpose of my Amendment is to make good to the people of this country statements that have repeatedly been made on the floor of this House, statements made by the War Department, by the Secretary of War, and I believe in several instances, by the Presidents of the United States, that we have no compulsory military training in this country. . . . It will not take one cent away from any school or college where the training is optional, and, as I said before, we have declared to the country that we are appropriating this money for schools where the military training is optional. We have to keep faith with the people of the country. If any school compels its students to follow these courses in order to obtain Federal aid, then they have no complaint if we limit the funds to be appropriated or expended in accordance with the spirit of the law and the intention of Congress.

. . . Various schools and colleges are making military training compulsory. That being so, let us write the intention and spirit of the law into this appropriation and put an end to a system of compulsory military service in this country."

Mr. Beedy of Maine said, "This Nation of ours has asked Europe to accept the Kellogg Peace Pact. We pose as a Nation which throws its vast influence in the scales for peace. . . . Just as long as we are bringing our boys up in a military training, dressing them up in uniform, adding glory to all the preparations of war, breeding the psychology of war in the coming generation, we are following a course utterly inconsistent with a peace program."

Mr. Welsh of Pennsylvania spoke fervently for the Amendment, "There is not an educator of consequence in the United States—and I think I can say this without fear of contradiction—who would not say that he is unalterably opposed to military training being compulsory in our schools and colleges. (Applause.) I am not speaking as a layman, but I am speaking as a man who has devoted 20 years of his life to education in the great city of Philadelphia, and I know exactly how educators in other parts of the United States view this problem. . . .

I am one who believes that the education of America today should be democratic, that we should not teach military science in our free citizenship institutions. (Applause.) If we are going to teach military training, let us confine it to the military colleges and to the student training camps. . . . The training is of little military value. The real purpose back of this is psychological. It is desired to create in the minds of the youth of America the military viewpoint."

Congressmen Stafford (Wis.), Connery (Mass.), Collins (Miss.), and others spoke for the Amendment.

Mr. Maas of Minnesota opposed the Amendment on the ground that the training was so valuable as general education and as preparedness that colleges should be financially supported by the federal government in the policy of compulsory military courses.

Mr. Barbour (Calif.), Mr. McSwain (S. Car.), Mr. Taber (N. Y.) and others opposed the Amendment as an attempt to legislate policy in an appropriations bill or as an invasion of state and local rights.

How Did Your Congressman Stand?

The Congressional Record for January 15, 1931, contains a complete record of the debate, also a roll call vote on a subsequent Amendment offered by Mr. La Guardia to eliminate federal

support of compulsory courses in high schools. Your Congressman can secure a copy for you and tell you of his part in the debate.

Congress will stop war department support of compulsory drill in civil educational institutions, and all drill in high schools, when the hosts of individuals and groups opposed to those practices so express themselves to their legislative representatives.

Will you begin now a systematic effort to see that every interested individual and group sends resolutions and letters to their Congressmen and Senators? Keep the personal letters coming. They are the citizens' way of voting on this question.

The fight in this Congress now turns to the Senate with a real prospect for further progress—if the country expresses itself. Get the sentiment against compulsory drill to your Senators from now until these policies are changed.

BUDGET CUT THREATENS MILITARY INSTRUCTORS

The War Department budget makes a material cut in the appropriation for retired officers on active duty. Of 140 such retired officers 111 are on duty as instructors at schools and colleges. These officers have under their training, it is estimated, a total of 45,276 students.

The Army and Navy Journal is much agitated over the removal of the retired officers from this duty and the possibility of leaving the field open to the pacifists, and anti-military organizations.

MILITARY INCREASES DEFEATED IN HOUSE

An attempt to increase the Appropriation for Reserve Officers and an attempt to begin the financing of 12,000 rifle clubs in American Legion Posts were both defeated on the floor of the House. The Appropriations Committee of the House eliminated from the original Unemployment Relief bill a number of items for the military, including \$672,000 for the R. O. T. C.

" . . . we have exchanged our pledges to seek the solution of all (international) controversies exclusively by pacific means. Having made this pledge, the obvious course is to act as if we meant it. What we need is a state of mind to match this anti-war treaty. We need to cultivate the psychology of peace."

—Hon. Charles Evans Hughes.

PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

The importance of making the League of Nations known to young people and accustoming them to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting the world's affairs was emphasized at the eleventh Assembly of the League of Nations, which praised the work of the Sub-Committee of Educational Experts in this field and decided that it should be continued and extended. There was general agreement on the necessity for developing comprehension of other peoples in secondary schools, not only in the classrooms, but also through exchanges of teachers and pupils, international holiday camps, etc. Several delegates mentioned the usefulness for teachers of the *Educational Review*, the pamphlet on the Aims and Organization of the League, now being translated into some thirty languages, and the work of the International Cinematographic Institute.

A SCHOOL OF PEACE IN FRANCE

Although moderate in its program and viewpoint, a school of peace for the study of international relations was recently opened in Paris under the patronage of M. Briand, and dedicated by M. Painlevé. It is organized by the directorate of *l'Europe Nouvelle*. The school offers two-year courses, those of the first year being general treatments of current international problems and the second year courses going into specific details of policy and institutions.

THE MILITARY MIND

Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, speaking for the London Naval Treaty, on the radio last June, said, "The critics are naval officers—fighting men. *They are handicapped by a kind of training which tends to make men think of war as the only possible defense against war.* It is not their function to consider the preventive measures of international relations which are intended to make war less likely. They do not weigh the factor of international good will or rightly evaluate machinery which will prevent war by substituting other remedies for the settlement of disputes between nations. They are thus likely to be blindfolded to one-half of the horizon—a very important half. Under these circumstances they are naturally against all naval limitations." (Italics Ours.)

GROUNDS FOR THANKSGIVING

Year by year we see the world steadily progressing toward enduring peace. As they face their continuing task the churches may well give thanks to God for these gains. Among them the following have special significance.

1. Fifty-seven nations have made official pledges to each other never to resort to war and always to seek the solution of their controversies only by peaceful means. These pledges put international relations on a new foundation and establish a new moral basis for peace programs and for patriotism in each land. The honor of the nations is committed to effective peace programs. The importance of these commitments can hardly be exaggerated. They can create a new era provided the people hold their respective governments morally responsible for strict observance of the commitments.

2. The London Naval Conference was the first outstanding effort to give practical effect to the World Peace Pact. The gains for peace, while considerably less than hoped for, were real. A six-year naval holiday for battleships was agreed to and nine of these ships are to be scrapped. Limitations were agreed upon by the United States, Great Britain and Japan for cruisers, destroyers and submarines. Dangerous naval competition between the three nations was thus curtailed, and with this result mutual confidence and goodwill should grow.

3. The London Naval Treaty has been ratified by two of the three nations concerned, the United States and Great Britain, notwithstanding the opposition of big navy advocates in each land.

4. The principle of holding international conferences for dealing with menacing situations has been strengthened. Herein lies the hope for permanent peace.

5. Signature by the United States of the Protocols providing for American membership in the World Court brings that important step distinctly nearer. This signature, however, to become effective, must first be ratified by the Senate.

6. The adoption by the nations of Europe of the "Young Plan" for dealing with Germany's reparations and debt payments has completed the settlement of Europe's acute post-war problems. An international bank for handling the payments has been set up, taking these problems out of politics. The complete withdrawal of all French troops of occupation from Germany soil is the first notable result of the Young "liquidation of the war". A serious cause of resentment and indignation in the relations of Germany and France has thus been removed.

7. Plans are under way to bring the League of Nations Covenant into agreement with the World Peace Pact excluding war as a method for coercing a treaty breaking nation. The statesman of Europe

and of the United States are thus coming to a common mind on the fundamentals of world peace.

8. The churches of Christ in America, as in other lands, through prophetic utterance and through the processes of education, are registering their influence against war and for the strengthening of the institutions of peace.

GROUNDS FOR CONCERN

One should not, however, be over optimistic. Many disquieting evidences remain that the war mind of the nations is still powerful. We list a few of the more significant evidences.

1. At the London Naval Conference, the security afforded by the World Peace Pact appeared to have little consideration. The negotiators bargained about tons and guns, speed and age, as though war between the great nations was still quite probable. The Conference was carried on too much with the expectation of war and too little with the expectation of peace.

2. In each country "big navy" advocates, both during the Conference and in discussions after it, all envisaged war and professed great anxiety lest the concessions made at the Conference by their respective delegations had endangered "security". They assumed that "security" depends on an "adequate" navy.

3. Already "big navy" advocates in the United States are advocating a billion dollar building program, so as to have a "treaty navy".

4. In spite of the Peace Pact, the League of Nations, the Locarno Treaties, and many arbitration treaties, the nations as a whole are expending more on military and naval budgets than before the World War. The United States, though the safest nation in the world from the standpoint of attack, is spending according to President Hoover, more than any other nation in the world on her naval and military budgets.

5. The refusal of citizenship to applicants who, on religious grounds, decline to promise to bear arms, placing loyalty to conscience above all other considerations, is disquieting.

6. The required enrollment of thousands of students in the R. O. T. C. makes increasingly difficult the development of the will to peace among many of our youth.

—*Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*

"When the people of one country, through the education of its youth, come to understand the ideals, aspirations and the hopes of other countries, then they no longer will submit to war, any more than a civilized community now will tolerate a street brawl." —*Dr. Uel W. Lamkin.*

CHINA

Sometime ago Kirby Page, writing on China for *The World Tomorrow*, pungently called attention to facts that cannot be too often reiterated. Let that be justification for these brief excerpts:

"Historical perspective is required if one is to avoid pessimism and despair over the present situation in China.

* * *

"Yet it is possible to find in the history of Europe striking parallels to most of China's woes. Civil war devastated that continent for centuries.

* * *

"Until recent times banditry and highway robbery flourished over wide areas. Piracy was once an honored profession. English gentlemen gained fame and fortune by looting Spanish treasures.

* * *

"Extreme poverty long prevailed among the masses of Europe.

"Literacy for a large proportion of the people is a modern achievement in any country. Ignorance and superstition characterized the masses of Europe until yesterday, and today they are still widely prevalent. Autocracy and dictatorship were normal in government over most of that continent for centuries and are far from unknown even now. Graft and corruption have been all but universal over long periods of time. Democracy still limps feebly in most countries.

"Social convulsions have always been accompanied by chaos and strife. The Renaissance, the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, the French Revolution the Bolshevik Revolution, and the Family Revolution are all being combined in the titanic upheaval which is now tempestuously rocking all China. The old classical learning is being supplanted by scientific education, although the oldest university in China, St. John's in Shanghai, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary only a few months ago. Confucianism and Buddhism are threatened by materialism and agnosticism. Old moral standards and social customs are being loosened, with the result that liberty often leads to license.

"The factory system and mass production are undermining the foundations of the old handicrafts. The ancient monarchy has been overthrown and a beginning is being made in representative government. Property interests and special privileges are menaced. The old system in which the individual was swallowed up in the family is being shattered by the assertion of personal rights and desires.

"It is inevitable, therefore, that China will be in turmoil for many years to come.

I find the great thing in this world is not so much where we stand as in what direction we are moving.

—Oliver Wendell Holmes.

GERMAN SCHOOLS FOR WORKERS

The General German Federation of Trade Unions has announced, according to the New York Times, the opening of a new union school at Bernau, near Berlin, for the purpose of training young unionists for the work of trade union administration and agitation. The school resembles in several respects the summer schools for workers in this country. German papers have pointed out that while several of the larger members of the Federation have similar institutions, the Bernau school is the first to be set up by the central organization.

A course of one month's duration is prescribed to give the workers an opportunity of learning something of national economy, sociology, labor legislation and trade union organization. During the course the pupils are housed on the school premises. The school, which can accommodate 120 pupils, is situated on a large estate in the Bernau Forest, which the Federation of Trade Unions has obtained on lease from the municipality of Bernau for 99 years. A large sports park with swimming bath has also been provided for the use of pupils.

School Cost \$380,000

The school was built at a cost of about \$380,000 by the Federation of Trade Unions, which will also bear the cost of administration and of teaching. The cost of accommodating the pupils and also the expense which married pupils will have to bear as a consequence of the necessity of maintaining a household apart from the school, are to be borne by the trade unions which take part in the educational course. The program is planned for two courses, each with 40 participants. The trade unions which have made themselves responsible for these courses are the Textile Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Union of Public Service and Transport Workers. The German Christian Federation of Labor also has a central trade union school, established some time ago at Konigswinter.

The Manchester (England) Chamber of Commerce is developing a scheme for training boys for business, with employment guaranteed. Under the scheme boys recommended by their schoolmasters would undergo a test, and the firms guaranteeing employment—eleven have already done so—would select certain boys who would be promised employment for one year after completing the two years' approved course at the Municipal High School of Commerce and passing the diploma examination.

When men are rightly occupied their amusement grows out of their work.—John Ruskin.

What It Profits a Union

By C. L. Vestal, Chairman Education Committee, Local No. 2, Chicago

It was with much interest, but more disappointment, that I read Mr. Jablonower's cleverly written article, "What Does It Profit a Union?", in the February number of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*. While it is not probable that his view of teacher unionism is widespread, it should not pass unchallenged.

Whatever Mr. Jablonower's intentions, his article leaves the effect of anti-union propaganda, cunningly negative and insidious—negative, because it seeks to discredit certain kinds of activity without offering any other, and insidious because it manages to damn without seeming to intend it. Whether consciously or not, its purport is an undermining of the foundations of teacher unionism.

While I should prefer to devote my limited space to the social function of teacher unionism, candor requires that the hollowness of Mr. Jablonower's fine phrases be exposed. I take his central strictures: "The leadership is moving away from the rank and file." In managerial skill and understanding, yes, as is inevitable in any effective organization, regardless of the nature of its activities or the loftiness of its aim, because, in a complex society, only those who have to run a job can learn its ins and outs. In activities and achievements, no, because in the teacher unions the rank and file can always check on official policies and activities by regular attendance at the general meetings, at any one of which a disapproving majority can overthrow any administration measure and propose and carry one of its own. Hence the leadership can go only in a direction and at a speed to which the majority consents. "The rank and file learn to accept, more or less gratefully, the concessions or 'doles' that are wrested in their behalf from school administrations" Before disposing of this statement let us delete the words "more or less gratefully" and "doles," as calculated to invest the fact with an air of humiliation and servility and thus excite contempt for it—a characteristic method of the "class war" propaganda. When we re-read the statement as thus modified we may answer: Of course, since

that is largely what the unions were organized for. "Practical achievements tempt" Is there, then, something low and degrading about practical achievement? Anyway, how else may ideals be made to mean anything? "The vocabulary of idealism is particularly suspect" If so, it is less because of the worship of tangible results than because idealism in the hands of those who much affect its vocabulary either runs amuck or has nothing but ethereal talk to contribute to pressing human problems.

But enough of puncturing balloons. The whole issue is the social function of the teacher unions. I deny that their primary purpose is even partly "the working out of educational values." When the teacher union movement began, just as now, the woods were full of educators' organizations whose field was in general, and still is, that of educational values. To have organized the unions for that field would have been a foolish duplication. Neither is it a primary purpose of the teacher unions to "make a place for the profession in the larger social efforts at revaluing and remaking social relations." Exactly what that would mean when translated into union activities only Mr. Jablonower could tell us, but since it is evidently his idea of what the union is for, and since he has condemned customary union activities, we can only infer that it is circumlocution for organized agitation for sweeping social changes.

Now we have come to the highly significant question: If practical achievements are dangerous to ideals, as Mr. Jablonower contends, in just what activities would he have the unions engage? For human purposes in a hard-boiled world, what boots an idealism which eventuates only in a spiritual glow? To mean something which can be taken hold of and used in their here-and-now lives by the mass of man idealism must find expression in definite and positive acts toward equally definite and positive objectives with some reasonable prospect of attainment. It is not by getting a vision that "the man in the street" is saved, but by the slow and fragmentary

embodiment of the vision which he seldom sees in singly small, but tangible and specific, achievements which, after weary years, we find to have added themselves into a great total which has moved us measurably closer to the ideal. The *status quo* which Mr. Jablonower deplores is not *status*, but a continually dissolving view, one thing today, another thing tomorrow, and the activities of the unions have their share in hastening the changes. It is basic in union philosophy that the *status quo* is only *pro tem*.

Now the teacher unions do indeed have a field all their own, but it is neither agitation for sweeping social changes—an objective of which we catch hints through Mr. Jablonower's cautiously idealistic phrasing—nor the working out of values in education. It is neither more nor less than this: *the protection and advancement of the economic and service conditions of their members*. To be sure we hope and believe that their activities toward these ends will result in slowly effecting a more just and stable economic basis for society than the present pig-pen theory, and they may incidentally advance educational values, but their specific aims must not be thus vague and remote.

Then let us dream, but "not make dreams our master." A dream is never a program for its own realization. Emphasis upon specific objectives and practical means need not imply that we have no ideals, but only that observation and experience have taught us that ideals may be realized, if at all, not by devoting our organization to agitation for sweeping social change—a course which would almost certainly bring speedy disruption to the teacher union movement—nor yet by some grand overthrow and miraculous overnight purification of human nature in the fire of an ideal, but by the sum of all of the little, inconspicuous victories which are being toiled and fought for by devoted men and women in their organizations the country over.

Meanwhile I would invite Mr. Jablonower to specify just what teacher union activities he believes would accord with the ideals which he has so feared for in his article, and at the same time avoid the pitfalls and dangers which he has so smoothly assigned.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS

Greater and greater grows the appreciation of the value to humanity of this organization as its many sided services become known. Vocational guidance for the child with defective vision has become one of its objectives. Only a thought is needed to show how necessary it is that someone assume the responsibility of guiding these handicapped children in their selection of vocations by which they may earn their own livelihood in a competitive world and thus maintain their self-respect. Their cheerful philosophy and a glimpse of its fruition is seen in the following quotation from one of their recent bulletins:

"There is a supplementary hole somewhere for every odd sort of human peg, whether it is round, square, or any other shape. It is our duty to see that every human peg is directed toward the niche in life where the fit is most comfortable. This is the joint duty of education, industry, and the various rehabilitation agencies. When placed in the right job, the physically handicapped young person can perform his work in such manner as to make it profitable to his employer as well as gainful to himself.

"The 4,000 partially seeing students in sight-saving classes throughout the United States are taught to realize their own possibilities and limitations, and they are guided to select occupations in which their defective vision will not likely be increased. A surgeon's son, in one class had his heart set on following in his father's footsteps. Because of his poor vision, this was, of course, impossible. His teacher was, however, able to interest the boy in forestry, and he is now leading a happy, healthful life, engaged in tree surgery. In another case, a girl of artistic bent wanted to become a painter. Since her sight made this impossible, she was persuaded to study horticulture. She is now doing landscape gardening with a large staff of helpers, and she is prosperous as well as happy at her work."

I do not believe that America is securely great because she has great men now. America is great in proportion as she can make sure of having great men in the next generation.

—Woodrow Wilson.

Socrates was charged with corrupting the youth of Athens since he taught them ideas at variance with the past.

Education for peace will break the war habit and build the peace mind—the twentieth century patriotism.

BOOKS

*"There is no frigate like a book
To bear us lands away."*

—Emily Dickinson.

BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS. May, 1930. 20th & Northampton Sts., Easton, Pa. 35 cents.

This bulletin of the American Association of University Professors contains the noteworthy pronouncement of this organization on the question of the ethics involved in the business relations of economic interests and academic instructors.

The report was prepared for the organization by Prof. E. R. A. Seligman at the request of its Committee on Ethics, was approved by this Committee, and was endorsed at the recent meeting of the association by the adoption of a rule sanctioning such business relations only on condition of frank statement of the relationship.

The request for this investigation by the Committee on Ethics grew out of the revelations of the inquiry of the Federal Trade Commission, ordered by Congress in February, 1928, into certain practices of public utility corporations. This inquiry revealed that large amounts of money had been paid by utility organizations to universities, research institutions, and individual professors in connection with research projects in economic fields affecting public utilities, and the publication of the results thereof. These revelations had so tended to discredit the teaching profession that an inquiry into the conditions existing and a declaration of ethical principles were demanded.

The report contains an able discussion of the whole question of extra curricular activities of academic instructors, the financing by business interests of research conducted by university professors, and of the obligation of such instructors to the general public.

This report is of unusual interest to members of the American Federation of Teachers, which was the first organization of educators to give public warning that the integrity and prestige of the teaching profession were threatened and the foundations of American education endangered

by the subsidizing of educational institutions by business interests. The National Convention of the American Federation of Teachers in June, 1927, endorsed the report of its Committee on Education which exposed the relation existing between the Ely Institute for Research on Land Economics and Public Utilities and business interests in the fields it was investigating, and protested against the danger to education thereof. It is of interest to note that three years later the American Association of University Professors finds, as did the American Federation of Teachers, that the chief danger lies in the secrecy surrounding the relation and the masquerading under false colors of supposedly disinterested research.

AN EXPERIMENT IN INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.
By William P. Hapgood. Kirby Page,
347 Madison Ave., New York. 10 cents.

Members of the American Federation of Teachers, whose motto is Democracy in Education, will find a heartening corroboration of their basic principle in this account of a successful experiment in industrial democracy.

For thirteen years the Columbia Conserve Company has been operating as a democratically controlled business with remarkable success, both financial and social.

Convinced of the fallacy of the business theory that control of industry should be based on ownership, William Hapgood inaugurated in 1917 a system in his business which gave to the workers the power to determine their hours of work, their incomes, their share of the total production, to choose their own associates and release them, to elect their own leaders, promote and demote them, and to decide upon all the policies of the business. That this is not merely visionary, but practical good business sense is seen in the results.

In 1930 Mr. Hapgood can speak thus of the success of his experiment.

Throughout our entire experiment, the chief joy to most of the active workers of The Columbia Conserve Company has come from our increasing sympathy for and understanding of each other and our chief problem has been to learn to live together as equals. Yet we have never once lost sight of the necessity of making a financial success of the business. While our interest in the spirit of the enterprise has grown steadily

greater we realized from the beginning that we must have bread in increasing abundance as a foundation on which our democratic life might stand and flourish. In my personal experience with business men I have found that most of them wish their employees well. They would like to be more intimately associated with them and to give them more power, but they fear that democracy in industry will not work. They look upon an experiment such as ours as visionary, unfitted for the hard facts of the business world. To convince them of their error an experiment such as ours must achieve even greater financial success than our competitors in autocratic industry. I hope many of my readers will be business men who may wish to establish a different relationship with their employees, but who fear for the financial outcome of such an undertaking. I wish to assure them that the contrary has been true with us. I can support this statement with the following information.

We started our business in 1903. In 1910, after losing all of our original investment, we reorganized, moved into very small quarters in a country town and started to build the business over again. Until 1916 we barely held our own. In that year we made our first real profit in the thirteen years of our business life. During the years that have followed we have been increasingly successful, enjoying a profit every year except in 1921.

During our last fiscal year (ending June 30, 1929), our net profit from operations, before taxes and depreciation were charged, was \$120,934.34. Our capitalization was \$257,426.00, common, and \$55,482.00, preferred. During the first ten months of the present fiscal year our net results before allowing for taxes and depreciation were \$136,087.07, with a capital stock of \$257,426.00, common, and \$99,583.00, preferred. I should be embarrassed to publish these figures if it were not for the fact that all the surplus except limited dividends goes to our employees.

These figures are the more remarkable when combined with statements made recently in San Francisco by Mr. Hapgood. This "business without a boss" pays its employees wages two and a half times as great as those of their rivals, the Campbell Soup Company. Added to that is expensive medical care averaging \$250 annually per worker, full pay during slack seasons and pensions for permanent disability.

The pamphlet gives the full history of the enterprise, how problems of wages, hours, discipline, sickness and accident and social life have been met. The social philosophy throughout is good to read in these days when business management generally seems bankrupt of any constructive policies in the face of our present crisis.

THE DANGERS OF OBEDIENCE. By Harold J. Laski. Harper, New York. \$3.00.

In an era of cringing to power, weasel words in public utterances, intimidation of original thinkers, and suppression of free speech, Harold J. Laski handles the subject of his volume *The Dangers of Obedience* with a forthrightness that renders it a tonic. Those who would fill up their verbal armory will find in this book a well-stocked source of incisive phrases. One can dip in almost anywhere and pull out a gem.

Yet with all the fear of governmental power over ideas and of industrial straight-jackets through standardization, Professor Laski sees that "authority fears to encounter the insistent conscience of its opponents"; that "no state is ever securely founded save in the conscience of its citizens"; and that "modern governments are doubtless more powerful than at any period in the history of the world; but they are still dependent for that power on their willingness to obey the decent opinion of their subjects."

A second concern of the author is American democracy. In three forceful chapters entitled the "American Political System," "The Recovery of Citizenship," and "A Plea for Equality" the weaknesses of our political scheme are laid wide open. Professor Laski is frank in his criticism, but his frankness is based upon objective study and observations. He has had an unusual chance to view American democracy at close range and in perspective. A trained political philosopher of the English liberal school, a lecturer at Harvard for several years, a student of politics at home and abroad, and a friend of democracy, he is well qualified to speak.

The third main theme of the book is a discussion of higher education, which includes chapters entitled: "The Teacher and Student," "The Academic Mind," and "Foundations, Universities and Research." There has been so little discussion of this last subject that Professor Laski's criticisms have the merit of novelty. Most college professors must have seen what the new vogue is doing to independent, inspired scholarship, but scarcely any have been brave enough to speak out. Domination of universities and of research by the directors of foundations is not charged. "The foundations do not control," says Professor Laski, "simply because in

the direct and simple sense of the word, there is no need for them to do so. They have only to indicate the immediate direction of their minds for the whole university world to discover that it always meant to gravitate swiftly to that angle of the intellectual compass."

The book contains a chapter on Rousseau, another on Machiavelli, and finally one entitled: "Can Business be Civilized?" These complete a work of three hundred pages, replete with excitement for the reader whose mind is not closed to the critical examination of old ideas and the reception of new ones.

JOHN A. LAPP,
The World Tomorrow.

BOOKS FOR HOME READING. *The National Council of Teachers of English.* 211 W. Sixty-eighth St., Chicago. 20 cents each. In quantities, 15 cents each.

A more attractive booklet than this has seldom come to our attention. It is durably and very artistically bound, clearly and attractively printed, and copiously illustrated in black and white and color. It is well classified by subject and indexed both by authors and titles. The grades to which the books are best adapted are indicated.

How any high school student could possess this book, and not pore over it, and inevitably find himself launched on a life time of good reading, is entirely beyond our conception.

In these days when the cheap, the flashy, the vitiating are constantly thrust before young people; when for some reason, it seems easier to find the poor than the worth while reading; it is a splendid service to have produced for young people this attractive presentation of the good things to read, in a form that must kindle the desire to read them.

The low price is due to the fact that it is a publication of a cooperative society of teachers, not to the fact that the little book is in any sense cheap.

"Material on Geography." Secured from Mary Josephine Booth, Librarian, State Teachers College, Charleston, Ill. 101 pages, costs 50 cents. This book lists educational exhibits and supplementary material on geography. We recommend it to everyone who is interested in geography.

BOOK NEWS IN BRIEF

ACADEMIC ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL. By J. E. Kirkpatrick. 300 pp. Antioch Press, Yellow Springs, Ohio. \$3.00.

This study in a hitherto almost unexplored field bears the subtitle *THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES OF AMERICAN COLLEGES AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS*. It will be published early in 1931. It is the major contribution of this virile independent thinker to the subject to which he has given years of study. The prospectus shows that whatever exists of democracy in education has been sought out and analyzed. Relations of teacher and pupils, and legal status and rights of students, teachers, and administrators are among the subjects treated in the later chapters when the history reaches the present day.

TEN YEARS OF WORLD COÖPERATION. Foreword by Sir Eric Drummond. World Peace Foundation, Boston. 467 pages. \$3.50.

Here is a record of history in the making, the story of the first ten years of the League of Nations. Written by members of the Secretariat, it contains a vast fund of information presented in an unvarnished manner. Invaluable for peace workers.

BURTON HOLMES TRAVEL STORIES, CHINA. By Eunice Tietjens. Wheeler Publishing Co. 2831 South Parkway, Chicago. \$1.28.

This is the third of a series of informational silent readers edited by Wm. H. Wheeler, co-author of *The Silent Reading Hour*, and Burton Holmes, world traveler and lecturer. It is designed to furnish interesting and valuable reading for children of the seventh and eighth grades. It is splendidly illustrated from the wealth of pictures gathered by Burton Holmes in a life-time of travel.

If what the world needs for peace and progress is that peoples shall understand each other, the authors and publishers of this book have performed a splendid world service. Few countries are harder for us to understand than China, and none more in need of sympathetic understanding. The book not only pictures the customs and daily lives of this little known people, but gives their historical background as a basis of understanding, their thoughts, motives and present political situation.

EDUCATIONAL LEAFLETS: *The National Association of Audubon Societies.* 5 cents each. 1974 Broadway, New York City.

Need we be reminded of the valuable pamphlets and charts of this organization which has done so much to extend knowledge of our birds? Descriptive literature, lists and prices will be furnished on request.

EDUCATIONAL TENDENCIES IN CURRENT MAGAZINES

By Nell Peterson

Conscious, all-around careful study—Professor W. H. Kilpatrick tries anew to give a clear meaning to the term *progressive*:

"Progressive education," he says, "believes in basing itself on the conscious, all-around, careful study of education."

"The reason I did not use the term *scientific* is that just now, as I see it, education is suffering grievously from a mistaken kind of scientific study, and the more mistaken the louder it proclaims itself as scientific. This wrong kind of science wishes to study a child but forgets his personality, wishes us to begin not with 'the whole child' but with little pieces of knowledge, separate skills, specific habits, and the like."

W. H. Kilpatrick, *What Do We Mean by Progressive Education?*, in *Progressive Education*, December, 1930.

Professor Earle U. Rugg has apparently felt the same unrest for he registers a spirited protest against the narrowing effect of specialization in present educational research. In order to make for broader views he urges teachers and administrators to analyze the opinions of the "frontier thinkers" about American life.

"It is the writer's conviction that the frontier thinkers should be used as the laymen's committee on curriculum-making. The professional school man and woman know the educational implications to be made. Both groups must co-operate to interpret environment to the individual." Professor Rugg appends to his article a bibliography that gives excellent suggestions for books and magazines which teachers should read as part of their professional growth.

Earle U. Rugg, *Some Recent Criticisms of American Contemporary Life and Their Implications for Education*, in *The School Review*, Jan., 1931.

A like plea for conscious, all-round study comes from the leaders in parent education. No adequate study of a child can be made, they are forever asserting, so long as there is a breach between home and school. The child must be considered by both parent and teacher in the light of his total twenty-four hour experiences.

"Parents and teachers should agree on what each should know, foster, and develop in: (1) Physical development, (2) Motor and sensory

control, (3) Development of interests, (4) Social adjustments."

W. K. McHale, *Special Education for Parents and Teachers*, in *Childhood Education*, Feb., 1931.

At the present time to dream of perfect agreement on such vital points may seem Utopian. Nevertheless the very substantial progress made in Parent Education during the last ten years gives hope. At present organized parent education programs under professional direction are in operation in twenty-two states. Six Universities and two schools for social work offer graduate professional training for parent education workers. A National Council for Parent Education with a membership of sixty-one agencies co-ordinates and integrates a rapidly growing and increasingly self-conscious movement.

R. P. Bridgman, *Ten Years' Program in Parent Education*, in *Childhood Education*, Feb., 1931.

Proof of what a parent-teacher group may do towards devising a program, "scientifically valid, educationally effective, and at the same time satisfying and releasing to parents" was given in Feb., 1930, by the Chicago Association for Child Study and Parent Education.

The topics chosen for the addresses given before their Third Conference were planned to emphasize the truth that other factors than the physical and the intellectual ones determine the development of children.

The book in which these addresses were published, *The Child's Emotions*, has, by rights, a place on Professor Rugg's bibliography. It is still receiving warm praise. A review of it published in *Educational Method*, January, 1931, after commending its moderateness, its wide and deep scholarship, and its slight preoccupation with mere technique, concludes:

"The volume deserves very careful reading by all who are interested in the problems growing out of the emotional life of children and youth. So much good matter on this theme cannot readily be found elsewhere."

It is to be hoped that the spirit maintained in this study of how to deal intelligently with the emotional factor may be carried into the solution of a question recently raised by Mr. Willis E. Tower, district superintendent of senior high schools in Chicago: "How large can a good senior high school be?"

The *School Review*, in its January, 1931, issue published Mr. Tower's statement of the results of an inquiry he had sent out to those in charge of senior high schools in a number of cities, and then comments:

"The dominant trend of both practice and opinion seems to be toward senior high schools accommodating large enrollments. However, the whole issue is one that lends itself to investigation rather than to mere opinion. There appear to be tangible elements that should be subject to objective analysis. We may hope that some interested investigator will endeavor soon to displace judgment based on experience with conviction established in evidence scientifically derived."

Some teacher group might very profitably join with some parent group to make a "conscious, all-round, careful study" of how large a senior high school should be in order to develop in the best way the "whole" personalities of children.

The Illinois Teacher for June ran an article by Laura Zirbes, State Consultant in Elementary Education and Director of the Demonstration School of Ohio State University. She explains how Ohio is meeting the modern demand for greater freedom for the child without jeopardizing his efficiency through aimless frittering. A "well-conceived activity program" is put into operation, for the guidance of the teacher, and proper supervision is provided. Thereby the teacher is enabled to become a wise guide and counsellor, while her children are "learning by doing."

THE SIGHT-SAVING REVIEW

The National Society for the Prevention of Blindness announces that it will begin this month the publication of a quarterly magazine devoted to all aspects of prevention of blindness and conservation of vision. OF THE SIGHT-SAVING REVIEW, Lewis H. Carrie, Managing-Director of the Society says:

"The new journal is designed to meet the needs of state and local prevention of blindness workers, educators, illuminating engineers, school physicians and nurses, safety engineers, public health administrators, industrial physicians and nurses, sight-saving class teachers and supervisors, ophthalmologists, and anyone interested in the sociologic phases of saving sight."

INFORMATION WANTED

The American Library Association is asking teachers and school librarians to collect information on books and sets commonly sold by canvassing agents, which may be used in reviewing these works in the "Subscription Books Bulletin," published by the Association.

In its first year, the "Bulletin" has reviewed 65 books and sets with impartial and outspoken comments. To continue this service, the Subscription Books Committee of the Association must have information, often difficult to obtain, on the books and sets not yet reviewed.

Among the points in which the committee is most interested are whether or not sets are as represented by their agents, whether they are reliable, up-to-date, well arranged, and adequately indexed. Comments on their general make-up, printing and binding, illustrations, and their usefulness in schools, homes, or libraries, will also be welcomed. Comparisons with other similar works would be helpful.

Information may be sent to May Wood Wigington, of the Denver Public Library, who is chairman of the committee.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE ANNOUNCES FELLOWSHIPS

The National Urban League announces that it will award in 1931 its usual FELLOWSHIPS for colored students for study in social work. From three to six awards will be made. Applicants must be graduates of, or candidates for graduation from, accredited colleges. Successful candidates will receive tuition and stipends of \$100 to \$105 per month—the total value for the year, including tuition, being \$1,200.

The Schools to which League FELLOWS have been assigned are the NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK, the GRADUATE SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, the UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH and OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

Applications should be filed before April 15th on forms furnished by the Urban League which may be secured by writing Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary, 1133 Broadway, New York City. The examination will be held in May.

Local News

NEW LOCALS

Balboa Heights and Cristobal, Canal Zone; Decatur and Waycross, Ga.; Jenkins Township, Penn.

The American Federation of Teachers is happy to welcome into its family five new locals. Canal Zone, Chapter No. 1, (Balboa Heights), Local 227 and Chapter No. 2, (Cristobal), Local 228, have started off with a good membership and fine promise. Through the interest and effective work of Mr. Charles F. Wahl, Vice President of the Metal Trades Council, these two chapters have been formed in the Canal Zone, one on the Pacific Coast and one on the Atlantic.

Mr. Charles Kutz has interested a fine group in Jenkins Township, Penn., which has been chartered as Local 225.

Local 226 is a hopeful group in Decatur, Ga.

Atlanta 89 sent its president, Miss Allie B. Mann, to Waycross to meet with the teachers there with the result that a new affiliate was at once established.

The older children in the family are delighted over the newcomers and are eager to show their pleasure by every helpfulness.

PORTLAND, LOCAL 111

The December meeting of the Portland union was given over largely to four reports from that interesting pamphlet, REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF A. F. OF L. The report method, we felt, insured to the largest numbers of members information concerning the convention.

The war against married women teachers has been on in Portland this fall. Even the Central Labor Council after a heated debate passed a resolution in commendation of the announcement of the School Board that it disapproved of employing a married woman teacher if an unmarried teacher were an applicant for the position. At the last meeting the following resolution stating our stand was adopted and a copy ordered sent to the City Superintendent and to each member of the school board.

WHEREAS, Certain members of the School Board have recently called in question the status of married women school teachers on the ground that such women do not need the work; and

WHEREAS, Marriage is an honorable state; and

WHEREAS, Many married teachers have family obligations which they cannot justly ask their husbands to assume; and

WHEREAS, The efficiency of the married teacher as compared to that of the unmarried teacher is not in question, since some of our most efficient teachers are married women; and

WHEREAS, The welfare of our children demands that the standard for selecting and retaining of teachers shall be their efficiency rather than the necessity of the employee; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers has gone on record as being opposed to any discrimination against women teachers on account of sex or marital status; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That, in our opinion, the proposed discrimination against married women teachers is unjust to the class of teachers concerned; detrimental to the best interests of the schools; incompatible with the principles of the American Federation of Teachers; and, in its reflection on marriage, unfavorable to the best interests of society.

Among various educational groups in our city the last few weeks there have been in general circulation petitions asking for signatures approving the Hudson bill which provides for Federal supervision of motion pictures.

Almost unanimously our Union members have felt that censorship which *can* easily be transformed into a narrow-visioned bureaucracy has within it a very grave element of danger. At our last meeting these resolutions concerning our stand were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, H. R. 9986, a bill to create a federal commission for the supervision and licensing of motion picture films, contains provisions designed to curb freedom of expression, provisions which are in no way related to the admitted evil of the vicious treatment of sex themes; and

WHEREAS, Complete freedom of expression in matters pertaining to the political and cultural life of the American people is essential to a healthy growth of civilized life; be it

RESOLVED, That we go on record as opposing this measure and that we call upon all liberal minded people to join us in this opposition; and be it further

RESOLVED, That, although we sympathize with one motive of this measure, that of making film presentations conform to higher standards of moral hygiene, we feel that the proposed remedy may easily become worse than the disease, and that for the present there appears no better way of securing a wholesome moral atmosphere in films than thru educational rather than coercive methods.

BELLE TENNANT,
National Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, LOCAL 8

As soon as the first item concerning the cutting of 78 kindergarten teachers from the appropriation bill by the House of Representatives appeared in the newspapers last spring, the Teachers' Union began work to have the item restored to the Senate bill. Letters were sent by the Union to the various citizens' associations and civic bodies. In response to these letters, action to remedy this situation was taken by many of the groups.

Pleas in favor of restoring the 78 teachers were made before the Senate Committee by those interested in the kindergarten department.

While the department has been cut some, everything has been done which could possibly be done to protect interest of the kindergarten teachers and those of the kindergarten children.

As a result of this successful and highly valuable piece of work many kindergarten teachers have joined the Union.

ELIZABETH DRAPER.

CHICAGO LOCAL NO. 3

Chicago seems to have been caught in the wave sweeping over the country, attacking the right of married women to teach in our schools. The question of the merit of the individual, the welfare of the child, or the good of the school system rarely, if ever, enters into the discussion. At the January meeting Miss Marguerite Pierce, chairman of the Civics Committee, presented the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The Board of Education at its meeting of December 10, 1930, adopted a resolution directing all department heads to give preference in the matter of employment to unmarried women rather than to married teachers whose husbands are employed, upon the understanding, of course, that the request does not conflict with established rules of seniority or civil service, and

WHEREAS, The office of the Superintendent, acting in accordance with the above rule now in the assignment of teachers to substitute service, and to positions on the teaching staff, is giving first consideration to unmarried women, second consideration to married teachers whose husbands are out of employment, and lastly to married teachers whose husbands are employed, and

WHEREAS, At the present time any woman qualified for assignment who is married is placed at the bottom of her list, regardless of the rank to which she is entitled by her achievement in meeting the requirements prescribed by the Board of Education, and

WHEREAS, The efficiency of the Schools of Chicago has been achieved and preserved by the application of the merit system in the selection of the personnel of its schools by the Board of Education, and

WHEREAS, The above ruling and the resulting practices constitutes a suspension of the merit system; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Federation of Women High School Teachers, while not unmindful of the present unemployment situation, and with the deepest sympathy for those affected by it, go on record as unalterably opposed to the said ruling and practices and to any other ruling of the Board of Education which may affect the enforcement of the merit system in the public schools of Chicago.

The resolution was approved by the membership and sent to members of the Board of Education, and affiliated groups.

In response to a letter from the Federation of Labor asking that we join other unions in a weekly contribution to a fund to aid the unemployed Danville strikers, our local voted to help—first, because we desired to relieve distress, and secondly as a commendation of the peaceful and dignified manner in which the strike is being conducted.

Miss Lillian Herstein, chairman of our Workers' Education Committee, reports that through the generosity of a friend, who in the past has lent money to worthy students, the money as it is returned by the students, will be permanently placed in our Ethel Beers Scholarship Fund for workers' education. This is the first gift of this kind and but the beginning, we hope, of a movement which will develop a fund the interest on which will provide for our annual three hundred dollar (\$300.00) scholarship.

LOUISE J. ROBERTSON,
Recording Secretary.

STELTON LOCAL 190

Stelton sends an account of a reunion and conference of former pupils and the teachers of the Modern School which reveal the purpose, spirit and methods of the school in a most telling way. The former students elected their chairman, and with a notable lack of participation of teachers, proceeded to discuss the school, its principles and methods and its success as shown by their own experiences as they went into other schools and associations. The independence and maturity of thought, and freedom

of expression gave abundant proof that the school was fulfilling the purpose of its founders in launching a school dedicated to freedom of self expression and creative activity.

Of considerable interest to educators are the opinions of these pupils of a "new education" school as to whether they found they did or did not "fit" in the conventional schools to which they went. All seemed to feel that they had gained a real superiority by their life in the Modern School, and had experienced little difficulty in adapting themselves to the advanced schools. They expressed appreciation of the openmindedness, resourcefulness, individuality and spirit of determination which they felt the school had developed in them.

MEMPHIS LOCAL 52

The Memphis Teachers Association, Local 52, have issued the first number of a bimonthly bulletin **THE TEACHERS FORUM**. The organization and its editorial board, Miss Mary V. Little, Miss Caroletta Pittman and Miss Nell Owen, are to be much congratulated on the success of this undertaking. The **FORUM** is excellent both in content and format. The editors have set a standard that will keep them busy to maintain.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN LOCAL 223

University teachers, organized into a branch of the American Federation of Teachers, will render vigorous support to a number of proposed types of labor legislation, it was decided at a meeting held Saturday. The Groves plan of unemployment insurance, and a state fund for Workmen's Compensation were endorsed by a unanimous vote of the members. Professor Harold Groves, elected as delegate to the coming Legislative Conference of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, was instructed to endorse these measures at that meeting. He was also directed to introduce a resolution protesting against the denial of earned increases of state employees.

The State Federation of Labor was commended in the form of a resolution for its stand in support of vocational education, and the Industrial Summer School.

It was also decided by the union that it would

oppose any contemplated law discriminating against married couples in the state service. Such matters should be decided purely on the merits of the different individuals without any regard as to whether they are single or married.

HARRY WEISS,
Publicity Director.

THE SWEDISH TEACHERS' UNION

The Swedish Teachers' Union numbers between 18,000 and 20,000 members, two-thirds of whom are women. Though the difference between men's and women's salaries is a bone of contention, it has not caused the factional "antagonisms" produced by the same situation in England.

Says Frank W. Goldstone in *The Schoolmaster and Woman Teachers' Chronicle* (the organ of the English National Union of Teachers):

Swedish teachers exercise considerable influence in their national affairs. Three members of the Executive are in the Upper House of the Legislature, and three other members of the Union are in the Second Chamber. The latter is the more important body, and corresponds to our House of Commons. Members of both Chambers are elected and paid a small salary.

* * *

Those in the Upper House are chosen on a basis of proportional representation by bodies corresponding to our county councils. The members of the Lower House are elected on a basis of adult universal suffrage. The Swedes are very democratic, and hold the view that membership of either House should be open to all their citizens.

* * *

If a teacher is elected, he is not required to resign his appointment, but a substitute is found during the first half of the year when Parliament is in session. After the long summer vacation the teacher returns to his school and continues his professional work until the New Year.

* * *

There is every evidence of an even closer association between administrators and teachers in Sweden than is usual in England, and I formed the impression that membership of the Association would normally be retained in Sweden in the case of appointments of teachers to administrative posts.

CLASS ROOM TEACHERS OF ENGLAND MEET

The National Federation of Class Teachers held its 38th Annual Conference in Leicester the latter part of September.

News of Our Members

Professor Jerome Davis of Yale University delivered an address on present economic problems before a union meeting of ministers in Chicago Jan. 26th. He also lectured at Sinai Temple, and was the Chicago Forum speaker of Feb. 1st.

Professor Harry A. Overstreet of the College of the City of New York was the guest speaker at the luncheon session of the Conference on Adult Education in Chicago Feb. 7th.

Dr. Harry F. Ward of New York was one of the speakers at the "Conference on Permanent Preventives of Unemployment" held in Washington January 30 and 31.

Miss Alice Shoemaker of the Summer School for Workers, University of Wisconsin, led the discussion on "Adult Education: Does it Mean Anything for the Worker?" at the industrial workers section of the Conference on Adult Education which was held in Chicago Feb. 7th.

Dr. Paul H. Douglas was one of the experts called in to confer with the governors of seven eastern industrial states in a conference called by Governor Roosevelt of New York.

Mrs. Lucie H. Schacht, president of Local 3, is Literary Editor of the Chicago Schools Journal.

Mr. A. J. Muste, chairman of the faculty of Brookwood Labor College and vice president of the American Federation of Teachers, is making a coast to coast trip, speaking in many places on economic subjects. Press reports from Minneapolis, Sacramento and other cities indicate that his message is receiving most enthusiastic response from Labor organizations and other groups that he has addressed. Locals of the American Federation of Teachers are also reporting to the national office that Mr. Muste's visits have been a great inspiration to them.

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Plans have been made for a Demonstration School utilizing progressive education methods, with the cooperation of the Syracuse public schools. Classes at all levels will be arranged. **The Primary School** will be directed by Dr. Ruth Andrus, Expert in Childhood Education of the New York State Department of Education. **The Secondary School** will be directed by Burton P. Fowler, Head Master of the Tower Hill School, Wilmington, Delaware, and President of the Progressive Education Association.

THE COURSES

The Case Method of Studying Child Development—Dr. Andrus.
The Methods and Materials of Primary Education—Dr. Andrus.
The Methods and Materials of the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Grades—Dr. Adelaide M. Ayer, Director of Training, State Teachers College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
The Principles and Practices of Modern Education—Dr. Ayer.
The Methods and Materials of Secondary Education—Mr. Fowler.
The Personality Adjustment of School Children—Mrs. Georgia Clarke Matthaei, Psychologist of the Bronxville, N. Y., Public Schools.
Diagnostic Work in Reading, Spelling, and Arithmetic—Mrs. Matthaei.
Industrial Arts as a Curricular Tool, a Laboratory Course—to be selected.

GENERAL INFORMATION

All of the above courses carry college credits.
All students of the Institute will reside in one dormitory.
There will be a Weekly Forum of distinguished lecturers.
Numerous other lectures, concerts, and plays will be given.
Syracuse University offers an exceptional climate, out-of-door sports and trips to places of interest.
The fees for the courses are low, and room and board are inexpensive.

For registration blank, application for room and board, copies of the Institute bulletin, and all information, write direct to Dr. Harry S. Ganders, Dean of the Teachers College, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York.

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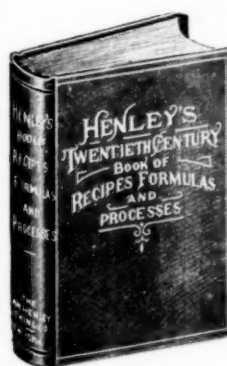


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Democracy in Education: Education for Democracy

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